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PRICE TWO CENTS

ECHOES OF THE DEBATE

THAT DID NOT TAKE PLACE BE-
TWEEN O'FIELLY AND MAC-
CARTNEY.

The Hero Who "Swallowed His Words
and Grew Pale on His Feed" Finds a
Defender, Who Answered in a Way
That Meets With Approval.

N. Abington, Mass., Feb. 15.—Enclosed
find the latest echoes of the debate that
did not take place between Fred Mac-
Cartney and Jerry O'Fihelly. They con-
sist of a series of communications and a
pair of editorial comments in the
Rockland weekly newspapers.

The first is an editorial comment in the
Rockland Free Press of January the
23, as follows:

"A Word of Complaint.

"You will not omit to read the poem
by J. Q. T. and the letter from a corre-
spondent using the name Cyrus Blake.
Each presents suggestions regarding the
challenge issued by Mr. MacCartney and
accepted by Mr. O'Fihelly.

"Without intention to criticize, and
without desire to question the good mo-
tives of the contributors above named,
it seems but fair, and in justice to Mr.
MacCartney and Mr. O'Fihelly, to ob-
serve in a complaining way, that the
writers have not properly sized up the
issue. A careful reading of their ar-
ticles—though a poem is hardly an ar-
ticle—causes one to think that they were
not in a serious mood. They seem to
see fun in the business.

"To issue a challenge is a momentous
act. To accept it is like momentous.
Further, the public interest in the ques-
tion at stake is serious, profound, al-
most pretty solemn. It is hoped that
future communications will have a more
sober cast, and seem more regardful of
public feeling."

Then follow the poem and the letter
referred to by the Press, with another
from the pen of Comrade Jeremiah De-
vine:

"Our Hero's Slide.
"He, warden, what of the knight?"

"So bravely, so boldly, our hero stood
forth."

So loudly he spake that we felt
That he would be rash who ventured to
clash

With the blows that our warrior could
best.

"I challenge them all" in a clarion tone,
He shouted his words to the sky;

But also, and alack, woe's me and
scone;

Just then Jerry O. happened by.

"And Jerry was learned in all of the
things
Over which Freddy Mac. was just flop-
ping his wings;

The edges of 'ems' he could find in the
dark;

And people would shell out their ears
and say 'Hark!'

When Jerry would tell how his party
was right,

On the edge of the street and the edge
of the night,

The greatest thrown down by our hero
he grabbed,

The skyward tossed challenged he speed-
ily nabbed,

He even would pay half the bill for the
half,

That the people might hear, without cost,
Freddy fall.

"So bravely, so boldly, our hero stood
forth.

So loudly he spake that we felt,
That he would be rash who would ven-
ture to clash

With the blows that our warrior could
best.

But ah! for our hero, and oh! for our
brave!

He seemed to be jammed by a word to
the ropes,

He longed to get out of the way.

"He quoted the language of Honest
John L.

"Let him and his party be take them to
the well,

Let them go, get a good reputation, and
then

They may talk on these problems like
men and with men.

They have stolen our votes through de-
ception in names,

Jim Jams are Jim Jams though you call
them Jim James."

"Woe, woe, for our hero, he squawked
and squeaked;

He swallowed his words and grew pale
on the feed;

The challenge so grandly he threw was
thrown back,

Our hero's bold optics are circled in
bliss.

There's craze on our hearts, and deep
gloom in our eyes,

And the tears we let fall are encased in
surprise.

Oh, woe, dear Fred, say 'tis all a mis-
take.

What you're ready to give Jerry O. a
good shake.

That you did not mean just what you
said when you spoke,—
"Twas only a little thing meant for a
joke.

Arise in your might and give Jerry a
lick,
Enough to make him and his party quite
sick,

And then will we hail you with shouts
a rod long,
And tell of your greatness in prose and
in song.

Plough off the deep grief from our car-
diac nerves,

Give Jerry some beautiful upper-cut
curves,

And show all the world that the chal-
lenge you made
Was not a vain thing for an evening's
parade.

So bravely, so boldly, so well you stood
forth,
Our poor hearts are likely to burst,
Unless we behold you, in all of your
might,

Stand forth, and likewise standing
first.

"J. Q. T."

To the Editor:
I have read with interest all the re-
cent effusions in the local papers in
regard to the proposed debate between
Rep. F. O. MacCartney of this town and
Jerry O'Fihelly of Abington, and if allow-
able I would like to say a few words on that subject.

Now I know Mr. O'Fihelly as he is, an
able, strenuous, consistent man; a natural
orator and a born debater; a man of the
people and one accustomed to meeting and surmounting all obstacles
solely by the power of his indomitable
will. Such is the man who has challenged
our representative, not the shallow-
pated, soft-headed individual some
people would have us believe him to be.

Then Mr. MacCartney also is entitled
to the highest regard of all good citizens,
a friend of the workingman, tried and
true. His voice and vote are ever
raised for the best interests of our dis-
trict. Never has he faltered in the path
of duty, and that he has the confidence of
the people was clearly proven last No-
vember.

Whether MacCartney's party is right,
or whether O'Fihelly's is wrong, is not
for me to say, but this much is true—
that there can be no gain to either party
or to the public by such a meeting as is
proposed. Besides, such a useless waste
of gas at the present cost of fuel would
be almost criminal.

Come, gentlemen, call it quits. This
uncertainty is becoming more terrible
than the coal strike, or the early closing
of the stores. The public demands a
settlement, and to this end I propose
that a board of arbitration be appointed
by Selectmen Townsend, to hear evi-
dence, weigh it, and in some way settle
this discussion.

I would specify further that this
franchise, in the face of the manufacturing
and business interests, as represented by
the Chamber of Commerce. (This is the same Matty who, during the
street car strike, about three or four
years ago, struck on the platform of
one of the cars at the car barn and shout-
ed that he would run the car if he had
to do it over the bodies of men, women
and children.) He showed that the
mayor was not sincere in his fight for
three-cent fares.

Matty came out for true capitalism,
for he said "Why does he veto this fran-
chise, in the face of the manufacturing
and business interests, as represented by
the Chamber of Commerce?" Who owns the press?

The manufacturers are the skinners of
labor, and it does not make any differ-
ence whether it is the labor of men, women
or children. The Chamber of Com-
merce is made up of those men, and the
daily press is their official organ. The
delegates from the trades assembly can-
not see this because they build on the
principle "that the interests of capital
and labor are identical."

Hoping this will meet with the ap-
proval of the two contestants, I am,

Yours for peace at any price,

Cyrus Blake,
Union street, Rockland.

To the Editor:

"The people of Rockland and vicinity,
while discussing the merits of Mr. O'Fihelly
and Mr. MacCartney, pro and con,
should not lose sight of the following de-
tails in the matter of the debate, which
did not take place.

First, Mr. O'Fihelly, in taking up the
challenge issued by Mr. MacCartney,
clearly stated that a debate might be
arranged between any member of the
Socialist and the Socialist Labor parties.
If Mr. MacCartney did not want to meet
a man "without a reputation," he might
have been accommodated with another.
The S. L. P. would have been willing
to import any of their speakers, to suit
the supporters of Mr. MacCartney,
if our local galaxy was not satisfactory
to them.

Second. While the S. L. P. was in
reality the challenged party, we were
ready to waive any privileges accruing
to such a position, and, in fact, granted
such privileges to the other side.

Third. The debate, if it did take
place, would not hinge upon the personal
qualities of either of the disputants, but
upon the merits of the parties in ques-
tion. For instance, their beauty, fine
clothes, education, etc., should not be
discussed.

Fourth. It should be remembered
that in the debate with Mr. Keens, Mr.
MacCartney did not call for the repu-
tation of his opponent, and he was per-
fectly well aware that Mr. Keens had no
following.

In fact, it makes a difference whether
it be play, or a real debate.

"Yours respectfully,

"Jeremiah Devine,"

"North Abington, Jan. 5, 1903."

Blake's letter evoked the following re-
sponse from Jerry O'Fihelly:

To the Editor:

"A communication signed by Cyrus

Blake (undated) in your paper of Jan. 9,

continues on page 6.

ACT TWO

OF THE SYRACUSE THREE-CENT FARE. COMEDY.

It Becomes a Tragedy in Which the
Working Class is Slaughtered by Blind
Leaders—"The Power of Organized
Labor" Demonstrated to Be Almost Nil.

Special to The Daily People.

The second act in the farce known as
"the three-cent fare," was turned into a
tragedy against the working class at a
meeting of the common council last
night. The committee from the trades
assembly, Yates, Williams and Waack,
were present, besides many other local
fakirs. The common council chamber
was crowded and standing room was at
a premium. All the aldermen in the
city, nineteen in number, were present.
The Republicans have the majority.

The Republican mayor vetoed the fran-
chise of the Rapid Transit Street Car
Company, that refused a concession giving
the working class a three-cent fare
during certain hours each day. The
Rapid Transit company wanted the veto
overruled, and, of course, their efforts
were successful.

The so-called labor committee had
claimed from the hill-tops that they
would have enough votes to sustain the
mayor's veto. They went begging from
one alderman to another. They cringed,
they crawled and threatened boycott,
and did anything that was necessary to
get votes and they got—three.

The mayor's veto was read. The
motion to disapprove was made. The
president put the motion and then a
hearing was allowed to any one for or
against. And as no one responded (not
even a labor leader) the president closed
the hearing to outsiders.

Then comes the plea for co-operation
and thanks to the men who have been
in our "employ, who have attained skill,"
and hoping for "uninterrupted friendly
relations" in the future as in the past.

The most of the men would rather
have had the minimum wage fixed at
22-1/2 cents per hour, and, as the old
scale was 20 cents all round, this is the
fairest; but that would be really more
of an increase than the one "granted."

One of them said "if the union ac-
cepts this advance it is a d—d poor
union."

Other employees have not been raised.

Should the Bible be read in the public
schools? This question is now agitating
the otherwise staid citizens of Utica, N.
Y. If the Bible is read in the light of sci-
ence there can be no objection to the pro-
posed innovation, for then the poison will
carry with it its own antidote.

Capitalist territorial expansion is a
great civilizer. The French traders are
forcing the natives in the New Hebrides
into slavery. What with the
wholesale desertion of native wives by
American soldiers in the Philippines, who
will doubt the beneficence of capitalism?

What difference does it make to the
working class who this profit is divided
by? It should not make any differ-
ence to them whether the employer pocket-
s the full amount or whether it has to
divide it with a dozen bankers. Yates
and his associates were supposed to be
there looking after labor's interests. But
he did not know enough to make this
point. Why not? Because he was
blinded by the notion "capital and labor
are brothers," the principle that makes
beggars of all the wealth producers that
are organized in the American Federation
of Labor.

The session closed by the vote to over-
ride the veto. And what do we find?
First, Mayor Kline is with organized
labor solidly, for three-cent fares. The
local labor leaders, straining every nerve,
cringing, crawling, and threatening, were
up to the last, sure the mayor's veto
would be sustained. But now that the
curtain has dropped the capitalist mayor
comes to the footlights and has this to
say: "I am not surprised at the action
of the common council in killing the
veto. I am not an advocate of three-
cent fares, but I thought that was one
way to bring the company around to the
idea that they should give to the city
a cash payment for the franchise."

This shows that Kline used organized
labor, through the labor fakirs, to help
Kline, and not to get three-cent fares
for the working class. If he did it was
a secondary consideration. The fight
started as a farce and was ended by the
labor fakir getting his just deserts—the
Kang retired.

Yates, the parliamentarian, came for-
ward and spoke his little piece, which
was as follows: "We know the situa-
tion, but we hope our action will edu-
cate the council in handling matters in
the future."

This shows that Yates used organized
labor, through the labor fakirs, to help
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for the working class. If he did it was
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Kang retired.

Yates said further "that according to
the Rapid Transit company's own figures
there was 36,000 fares received daily,
and, allowing a five-cent rate and making
15-5 cents on each fare, the income daily
would be \$600. He argued that by grant-
ing a three-cent fare during certain hours

S. L. P. Vote in 1902.

Completer returns of the Socialist Labor
Party vote having come in since the pub-
lication of the list last December. It is
given below with the corrected figures,
which raise the S. L. P. vote to 53,617.

STATES	1902.	1900.

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THE LANDLORD

To Abolish Him Would Not Benefit the Workers.

There are many people who imagine that all would be well in society were it not for the landlord. The landlord, they claim, not only sucks the blood of labor, but capital as well. It is their theory, that if the landlord was removed, the wealth that now goes to him would remain, not only with the capitalists, but the workers as well. To argue thus, shows a complete ignorance of the capitalist system of production.

The capitalist class does no manner of productive work and yet it reaps in wealth. From whence does the capitalist class then derive its income? From the necessity of the worker. The worker must sell his labor power or starve.

The capitalist class owns all the things

needed to produce the necessities of life. The railroads, the mines, the factories, etc., are the private property of a comparatively small number of people. As the working class owns none of these necessities, all of which it needs to labor with; it must sell itself to the class that owns them.

When the capitalist buys the labor power of a workingman he does so only because the worker will produce more than he is paid for. If the capitalist had to pay the worker as much as he, the worker produced, the business would not "pay"; there would be no profit.

The capitalist buys the labor power of the worker the same as he buys pig iron, hides or any other commodity, and the price of labor power is governed by the same laws that govern the price of other commodities—the cost of production in human exertion. The food, clothing and shelter of the worker, all produced by human labor power, from the basis of the price of labor power, or, as it is generally called, wages.

Wages, then, are that part of the product of labor which the capitalist pays to the workingman out of the proceeds of that workingman's own production. Say, for instance, that a worker produces value to the extent of \$4 a day, and yet \$1 in wages. That dollar is taken out of the wealth that he, himself, produces, while the capitalist pockets the other three dollars. That surplus value created by the worker is called profits.

No doubt the capitalist would gladly keep every penny of this surplus value, but some of it he must yield up to the forces that enable him to exploit the worker. In other words, the capitalist is compelled to "divide"—but not with the worker.

The State or government must get its "share." This it does through taxation. In order to keep the worker down, the vast machinery of modern government, with its courts, police, militia, jails, penitentiaries and reformatories, must be supported by the capitalist. The workingman is not robbed through taxation. High taxes or low taxes, his wage is just enough to keep him in a more or less fit condition to work. The workingman is robbed in the shop.

If any one has a grievance against the landlord it is the capitalist. It must be understood that the profits of the capitalist is the wealth stolen from labor, less just enough in the shape of wages to enable the toiler to live. The larger the amount needed to keep the worker on the subsistence level, the smaller must be the profits of the capitalist. If tenement rent is high, the wages of the workers must enable them to pay it, or the workers won't be able to live where it is convenient for the capitalist to exploit him.

If rent was reduced away below the present figure, what effect would it have on the well being of the worker? None, and for very good reason. Anything that diminishes the cost of living—cheaper food, clothing, or rent—makes it possible for the worker to do with less wages. And when a worker can do with less, who ever heard of a capitalist paying him more? Any "reform" that would reduce rent could not benefit the worker. If rent were entirely abolished the worker would be in just the same condition as before.

Any identity of capitalist and landlord are becoming more and more blurred every day. The manufacturer usually owns the land on which his factory stands. The steel trust owns most of the iron mines, the coal companies own mines and railroads. The companies that operate the bonanza farms own the land they cultivate.

Many large concerns owning no land in the big cities purchase sites in rural places to establish factories, the railroads giving them practically all good facilities to markets as in the cities. Sweat shops, cigar shops, etc., are moving out to suburban places because the lower rentals enables them to pay less wages to their workmen.

Occasionally one runs across a theorist, who will tell you, that by levying a tax, the single tax, on land revenues, what social evils exist will be cured. He will tell you that the capitalist and worker do not sustain toward each other the relationship of fleecing and fleeced, but that of mutual sufferers—both robbed by the landlord. This, he will tell you, despite the fact that the capitalist of to-day has risen superior to the landlord, who was the power in social systems previous to the present one. In the early development of capitalism, landlordism tried to keep it down, but capitalism gained the mastery. In England the descendants of the old feudal barons are to-day successful brewers, bankers, and traders. In many instances their estates, instead of

being a source of revenue, are pleasure places where they revel in the wealth stolen from labor.

The single tax will tell you that his scheme will give the workingman a chance to get at natural opportunities. For the sake of argument, let us grant this, but how could the worker take the advantage of such opportunities? Without capital—the machinery of production—to apply to such resources, he would be as advantageously situated as a man in mid-ocean in an open boat without sails or oars! The single tax does not seem to think that there has grown up to-day the expression "land poor," i.e., owning land, but lacking capital.

The profits of the capitalist, being, as shown above, that portion of the worker's wealth over and above the wage needed to keep him alive, what difference would it make to him whether that stolen wealth was paid in rent to the State or to private individuals?

Scratch a single tax and you find a capitalist sympathizer. The exploitation of the worker and all that flows therefrom he does not consider an evil at all. A single tax had the ignorance to tell the writer that the scheme would raise wages, and increase the "earnings" of the capitalist!

But, let us again, for the sake of argument, agree that land would be rendered easier of access to the worker, what then would be the result? Not as the single tax imagines: "The raising of wages, increased earnings of capital, extirpation of pauperism, abolition of poverty, remunerative employment," etc., etc. The result would be that whatever miserable existence the worker could eke out of it, with his bare hands, would become the standard of living for him!

Imagine, if you can, how "equal to all" the opportunities to obtain land would be under the capitalist State—with which, by the way, the single tax has no fault to find.

Wage worker, who is penniless, and capitalist, who has millions, apply to the State, the only landlord, would they fare alike? No, the State would have to be even more exacting than any landlord is to-day. It would have no other source of revenue. Wage worker, who, of course, had no financial standing, wouldn't be allowed to take up a valuable holding, and even if he could, having no capital, he could not use the land. What then could he do? Sell himself to the capitalist just as he does to-day, and that is the "brilliant" theory called the single tax.

As the "free silver" reformer has in mind the time of the "dollar of our daddies," so to the single tax has in mind a past condition. He sighs for the days of "ten acres and a mule."

But, under the inexorable operation of the laws of capitalism, and with capitalism no "reformer" finds fault, there can be no going backward. Underlying the conditions under which we suffer, is the class ownership of the means of production which we must use to live. Instead of a means for the production of all that would tend to our comfort, these things are to-day a means for our enslavement. We cannot change these conditions of the middle ages, nor would we try. Nor do we propose to let the present system pull us back to barbarism. The dialectic of John Knox is logical up to one point. Man has no control over his destiny; then why bother about it at all? Presbyterianism is gloomy at best, and its cornerstone is: "God's Will." Whatever your lot on earth, be content. There is no getting away from it. You were predestined to it. It is God's will.

Two of those early impressions linger, however. One was, that among the forty or fifty men with whom I worked, but one man expressed any sympathy with Georgeism, and he was a gentleman of shady reputation. This man had run crooked games in the West and played the religious hypocrite in the East. He was afterward arrested for abusing a political office to which he had been appointed. There was nothing in society or morals that this man respected, and as I understood in a vague way, that George was endeavoring to overthrow society, I appreciated my fellow worker's enthusiasm for him.

The second thing that impressed me with Georgeism was the fact that a Roman Catholic priest played so important a part in it. Reared in an up-State village where Catholics were few, except when they came in the summer as servants of the rich, we were much more bigoted than those who lived where the creeds were more equally divided. Not only that, there being no creed more intolerant of others than the faith bequeathed by John Knox, we had a superstitious horror of the Catholic superstition. McGlynn's connection with Georgeism, then, could be nothing more nor less than an attempt by the Catholic Church to control American politics, at least so I then thought. After Metllyn had broken with the Church I often went to hear him.

Like many more I fell under the spell of that mysterious influence that was somehow evoked in behalf of the Stuffed Prophet of Buffalo. In the last year of his first term I spent a week in Washington and among other sightings attended a reception to the public given by Grover. With all the enthusiasm of a Mahometan, I repaired to the White House. As the line entered the building and wound round the reception room the devotee looked eagerly for the embodiment of civic virtue. The kind friend acting as conductor, divining the thought, nodded her head and said: "There he is." Looking in the direction indicated, I saw at the further end of the room, a squat, unprepossessing figure, clad in a baggy suit and totally unlike the hero of my fancy, and not even suggestive of the idealized pictures so familiar at that time. Nothing daunted, the pilgrim remained in the line and soon had grasped what seemed to be a boneless hand, which exhibited as much vigor as though made of putty. As the attendant hustled the line along the pilgrim uttered some expression of loyalty to tariff reform, and was rewarded with a smile that partook of the same characteristics as the handshake.

"On the tour generally we are of opinion that's successful as it was it would have been even more successful from a financial point of view had it taken place earlier in the year, and when no election rush is on. This would have enabled us to take the country a little more leisurely, with weekly breathing spaces, and have thus made possible more open air meetings and the consequent saving of hall rent in all but the larger cities.

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EDUCATION

The Development of Educational Systems a Capitalist Necessity—Knowledge No Cure-All for Social Ills—Educated Workers Overrun the Profession. The Education That Emancipates.

In the various discussions upon modern education, we may hear such contradictory remarks as these: "This is the age of reality and little wit;" "This is the age of education," or "of the progress of the common people," or again, "of artistic decline," and "of mediocrity;" hence, we may at once conclude that the inherent contradictions of capitalism extend also to its educational field and that the educational phenomena of to-day are as little understood by either actors or spectators as many another comedy or tragedy of modern capitalism. When we see thousands of persons annually striving for an "education," we may well ask "What are they educating themselves for? What is the end in view? The brightest part of their youth is spent pondering over monotonous text books, Latin, Greek, ancient history, dead and gone philosophy, mathematics and other abstruse subjects are incubated in young minds. Why? For the public good that will result therefrom? Such thought scarcely ever interferes with the studies. The aim of many students is simply to acquire enough knowledge of a subject to enable them to "teach." In a similar manner people study music, not because they love it, not because it charms their souls and that they expect in time to charm the souls of others. So far from this being the case, many of the music pupils openly declare that they "hate it," and curse in their young hearts every hour they have to spend at the piano, away from play and friends or some favorite occupation. But they learn to play, become teachers and harass other "victims," and so the merry dance of musical mediocrity goes on from generation to generation.

The Object of Modern Education.

But what hidden machinery is it, what spring is touched and what threads pulled that make the dolls play the mimic game before our eyes on the stage? The thread to carry out the simile, is "the necessity of making a living," and the spring which controls it all is marked "mercenary." In other words, education to-day is a merchandise; that is the only value it possesses to the members of the working class. To the sons and daughters of the dying middle class education serves in the struggle for existence, to lessen the hardships in getting a living, and in order to be so used it must, like all other labor-power, find a master who will buy and utilize it. Some people to-day teach languages, music or painting, practice law or medicine, or write books, exactly in the same manner, and for the same reasons, as others make shoes or overalls, mine coal or kill "their country's enemies." They may despise their work, but at the same time they can find nothing better to do for a living.

The Aim of Ancient Culture.

In no other system of society has individual gain been the ultimate aim and end of artistic perfection or mental cultivation. It has been something high and honored, something of a public character heretofore. The historic phrase, "The gods see it," of Phidias, the Greek sculptor, demonstrates beautifully that there was something far higher than carnal gain and ambition underlying the great artistic era of the Greeks. Physicians, lawyers, musicians, poets, philosophers, teachers, have stood high in the scale of man's social system. They surrounded the monarchs of the middle ages and played great parts in state affairs asserting their influence over all, rulers as well as ruled. The aristocracy of knowledge held itself high in the social scale and never bowed to the aristocracy

birth—nearly even to the rulers themselves. Even the king's fool, by virtue of wit and knowledge, was a privileged character, a little tyrant in his own kingdom. But to-day wit has descended in value and the stale jokes have lost all their "funny papers" and supplied at so much per column, serve as a meagre substitute for genuine wit of the middle ages.

The Capitalist Need of Learning. If we look backward toward the time when capitalism took its rise, we find few people, except a select circle of scholars and ecclesiastics, possessed any learning, or even knew how to read or write. To the toiling masses these were useless luxuries which they had neither the nor opportunity to acquire. To the ends they were something below their dignity, something which they left to their "clerks." But, with the rise of capitalism and the development of commercial relations among the people, it became necessary for the members of the mercantile and manufacturing classes to know the arts of reading and writing; a peaceful educational system developed along with capitalism and, at least, some sons and daughters of the capitalist classes received an education.

Knowledge as a Cure for All Evils. Hence, we see in the early part of the

nineteenth century that an intellectual and literary wave, so to say, swept the world. In England, France, Germany, United States, everywhere in fact, an intellectual wave followed closely upon the establishment of capitalism. These intellectuals perceived the contradictions which were already unfolding themselves in the system of "liberty, equality and fraternity," which had been ushered in and which was so loudly proclaimed by the new ruling class. They saw a new ruler developing in the person of the money-lord; and also perceived that the masses remained in misery and degradation. They alone stood above and outside the new class conflict that was shaping itself before their eyes. The only cause they could see for this position was their superior knowledge, and the only cause for the misery and degradation among the masses was the lack of the precious jewel which they had obtained. Mind, to them, ruled matter. The mind, the idea, knowledge alone was strong and noble, all else was weak and feeble. Hence, with the new era, the capitalist era, a new ethic was propagated among even larger numbers, namely, that of desire and demand and actual craving for knowledge and education. However, the strong motive power which forced on the popular educational system, although apparently deriving its impulse from the influence of the idealists of a century ago, lay hidden within capitalism itself.

Medical and Legal Quackery.

As capitalism became world wide, as the capitalists became more and more separated from useful production and ultimately, also, from the managing and directing of industry, as the commercial system became more and more complex, all the useful posts had to be filled by hired wage workers. Again, as the capitalists withdrew from useful production, inventions, discoveries, improvements, everything; in short, fell upon the wage working class. It is plain, therefore, that an ignorant, illiterate mass could not carry out this intricate work, hence, popular education became a positive economic necessity in order to enable capitalism to unfold. Consequently the totally illiterate to-day, in every advanced nation, are the exception.

The Trades vs. the Professions.

Yet another economic influence forced on the spread of learning. Its keynote is struck by the fact mentioned in the article on the "Middle Class," namely, the innate hatred of its members to "going to work." An education, a profession, is the last straw of the drowning middle class. Many of them realize that, although their small shop, store, or farm may secure them an existence during their lifetime, yet it cannot maintain their children, especially where there are several of them, as only one could inherit the established place and the rest would have to enter the competitive field with empty hands. So they are sent to school, and the struggle many a small farmer, manufacturer, or storekeeper has gone through to educate his children is really an heroic one.

Journalistic Prostitution. Yet if possible a worse status of corruption than either of the professions mentioned is the profession of journalist. The press to-day is a world power and asserts a great influence in national and world movements. It is the moulder of public opinion. Authorship for current papers and magazines is a new profession, a product of modern capitalism. Hence it savors thoroughly of genuine capitalistic corruption. Modern authors write for revenue, and for it alone. Opinions are advanced for so much a column, and the more genuinely capitalistic the opinion, i.e., the better the writer can succeed in diverting the minds of the readers from the true cause and effect of the whole phenomena of modern capitalism the greater is the value of his writings to the capitalistic press; and, of course, the greater is his revenue. Consequently, revenue being the ultimate end in view to modern journalism to pervert the truth, to prostitute their intellects and to reach the highest perfection in modern sophistry is the grand goal to which modern capitalist intellectuals strive. If war is in the interest of capitalism, it is the duty of the press to form public opinion in its favor; regardless of the human life that will be lost and the untold suffering that will be brought to widows and orphans. If, as at the present time, thousands of people are freezing for want of coal, while the miners suffer misery and starvation, because work has been at a standstill, all due to the misrule of the private owners of the mines, then it is the duty of the press to keep the public mind warped on the subject, and so confuse its vision that the real cause of the trouble—the private ownership of a public function—will not be perceived. If a number of lives are lost in a great railroad accident, due to the mismanagement of the company, again it is the press that, with glaring headlines and sensational accounts, divert the minds of the readers from the real thing of interest, namely, that human life ought to be too valuable to be entrusted to private individuals whose sole aim and end is the extraction of profits.

The Civil Service. Besides the established professional pursuits, such as lawyers, doctors, authors, preachers, musicians, capitalism has created a number of new pursuits, which had to be filled from the schools and colleges. The complex machinery of government has opened any number of positions in the civil service. A vast army of clerks are necessary in the industrial and commercial establishments as well as in the service of the railroads, typewriting, telegraph and telephone operating, stenography, newspaper work were created. Almost innumerable are the new pursuits opened which give an advantage to persons of education.

As machines crowd out the workers from employment, they seek to acquire an education in order to thus be able to maintain themselves by mental labor alone, or mental and physical labor combined. Hence from the great number of recruits the educational class has received from all strata of society, every channel has become overstocked. Furthermore, machines have invaded many of these fields also and thrown the educated workers out of employment or at least greatly lessened the value of their labor power.

Women and Educational Pursuits.

Another factor has made itself felt on the educational labor market, namely, women labor. As capitalism advanced and wages decreased, marriages far from kept pace with the increase in population and even more notably still has the age of marriage advanced. Hence parents, often themselves in danger of losing their positions or business, cannot, as a rule, keep their daughters at home, waiting for a husband that may never come, or not come till an advanced age. Hence, they find themselves under the obligation of providing, not for sons alone, but daughters also. Now, with

A NECESSARY MERCHANDISE AND A DRUG ON THE LABOR MARKET.

the boys it may often be conceded that they are as well off in a trade; but with the girls the case is different. Physically weaker and in greater danger from the immoral influences of a shop, they naturally seem more fitted for the educational pursuits. Consequently many of these branches are to-day almost entirely filled by women, often by mere girls. Many girls can live at home and follow some pursuit only as a by-occupation. Now it is plain that this over-crowding of the educational branches would, under all circumstances lessen the wages paid in them, the more so is this the case when much of the labor-power thrown into that field of competition is not entirely dependent on the wages earned therein for a livelihood. So we find to-day that the professional branches are entirely overrun and the merchandise educated labor-power stacked up in the market and declining in value. Hence it is that capitalism, among all the rest of its inherent contradictions exhibits also this one, that, in the midst of popular education and the advance of learning, the diminution of illiteracy, etc., there is, at the same time going on a most degenerating decline in every professional pursuit. Education is mostly mediocre and superficial; knowledge is meagre, art on the decline and education, as a whole, a mere merchandise.

The Struggle of the Educated Proletariat. But to return to the educated proletariat in its struggle for existence. We find that all the professions are overrun even in their present declining condition, and, hence, the educated have ever to seek new outlets. Soliciting agencies, bill collecting, etc., are among the occupations which have to be chosen, and intellect is set in vigorous motion to deceive the unwary. Therefore, education is now experiencing a reaction. Many, especially working people, are getting careless as to their children receiving an education, when they see to what a low scale in the struggle for existence the educated proletariat is brought. A good workman is apparently much better off, and so children are often taken from school and sent to the factory at the age of 12-14, even when they are not driven by actual necessity.

Yet the merchandise, education, is increasing on the market and must find an outlet somehow. So it has come to pass that doctors without patients, lawyers without clients, ministers without congregations, authors whose talents are not recognized; and a number of other mis-understood geniuses have as a last resort taken to "fish in the troubled waters of capitalism."

Socialism and the Intellectuals.

As capitalism advances, its inherent contradictions have become more and more apparent. The labor question is forcing itself to the foreground and in the Socialist Labor Party that question has taken its only sound policy, namely, an uncompromising and perpetual class struggle. With the terrible and unceasing conflict that is raging between capital and labor on the economic field it must in the near future dawn upon the wage workers that in order for them to succeed in the conflict it must be extended on the same class lines to politics also. If this once becomes instinctively felt by the workers, the soundness of the S. L. P.'s position and the truth of its philosophy would soon become clear and would immediately result in class-conscious action both on the political and economic field. This is exactly what must be prevented, even if its prevention compels the capitalists to part with some of the profits fleeced from labor. This work is the work of "intellect." The press is not altogether sufficient and the old-time politicians, somehow, have fallen into pretty bad repute and can no longer fool all the workers all the time, especially those who possess the dignity of manhood. It has to be done in a more refined manner and the aforesaid disappointed professionals, whose restless "intellect" is but waiting for a "buyer," are the very men to fill such "important" positions. Hence, within late years an immense army of them (and more are to come) have fastened upon the labor movement, like barnacles on a ship, to stay its course, or divert it into a wrong channel.

The Intellectuals as Labor Fakirs. The legal profession has suffered no less decline. The modern terms "corporation lawyer," "damage suit lawyer," "ambulance chaser," "divorce lawyer," etc., etc., reflect upon our minds the ideas of peculiar species of birds of prey who feed upon carnage on the battlefield of modern capitalism. To obtain justice is far from being the aim in view of any "interpreter of law" to-day. Their aim is to "win the case, right or wrong," as a case won means revenue, and a case lost means humiliation and the revenue to the opponent.

Journalistic Prostitution. Yet if possible a worse status of corruption than either of the professions mentioned is the profession of journalist. The press to-day is a world power and asserts a great influence in national and world movements. It is the moulder of public opinion. Authorship for current papers and magazines is a new profession, a product of modern capitalism. Hence it savors thoroughly of genuine capitalistic corruption. Modern authors write for revenue, and for it alone. Opinions are advanced for so much a column, and the more genuinely capitalistic the opinion, i.e., the better the writer can succeed in diverting the minds of the readers from the true cause and effect of the whole phenomena of modern capitalism the greater is the value of his writings to the capitalistic press; and, of course, the greater is his revenue. Consequently, revenue being the ultimate end in view to modern journalism to pervert the truth, to prostitute their intellects and to reach the highest perfection in modern sophistry is the grand goal to which modern capitalist intellectuals strive. If war is in the interest of capitalism, it is the duty of the press to form public opinion in its favor; regardless of the human life that will be lost and the untold suffering that will be brought to widows and orphans. If, as at the present time, thousands of people are freezing for want of coal, while the miners suffer misery and starvation, because work has been at a standstill, all due to the misrule of the private owners of the mines, then it is the duty of the press to keep the public mind warped on the subject, and so confuse its vision that the real cause of the trouble—the private ownership of a public function—will not be perceived. If a number of lives are lost in a great railroad accident, due to the mismanagement of the company, again it is the press that, with glaring headlines and sensational accounts, divert the minds of the readers from the real thing of interest, namely, that human life ought to be too valuable to be entrusted to private individuals whose sole aim and end is the extraction of profits.

The Intellectuals as Labor Fakirs. The labor fakirs of various brands and degrees have taken to trade in labor friendship in lieu of an easier and better paying position, and, as, if they are successful in steering the unwary of the pure and simple unions into the shambles of the capitalist political parties at election time, they are generally rewarded by political jobs which are among the easiest and best paying positions under capitalism. So faking or lieutenantship of labor is no doubt, when successful far more satisfactory than it is to be a common practitioner, especially when the practice is wanting.

But as labor politics was being extensively advocated it became necessary for the capitalists to keep not only economic, but also political lieutenants. But the S. L. P. was not a pure and simple unclass conscious union, nor were its members uneducated in the schemes and plots of capitalism; hence, to misdirect that movement from within has proven to every fraud and fakir, who every tried it, one of the hardest snags which political mountebanks ever run up against. Therefore, it was that the Social Democracy, a middle class movement, received an influx of intellectuals, who finally almost swallowed the party at the Indianapolis Unity Convention, and have, since then, almost entirely dictated it "policy." An attempt is made by this bogus movement to capture the restless revolutionary spirit of the working class that cannot be directly led in the ground by the labor lieutenants in the unions. In the "Socialist Party" the revolutionary electricity of the working class is kept busy driving the old worn out refrain wheels of capitalism. These "intellectual labor fakirs," who give up an imaginary sinecure for a \$50 a night lecture tour, or a pleasant automobile trip, always like to play the martyrs and have abundance of tears for themselves and incidentally for the "poor and downtrodden."

The S. L. P. and Education.

But the S. L. P. is teaching class-consciousness and the moral influence of its consistent and uncompromising attitude is extending far beyond the limits of its organization. In a short while this influence is bound to be so strong that it will burst all the ears of corruption. A hard lot will then fall to the fakir brigade, for the capitalists will no longer pay for an article that is useless. The working class to-day is pointedly used on their tearful friends the words of one ancient revolutionist, "Cry not for me, but cry for yourselves and your children." This we know, that what is at all worth anything among the intellectuals, must, in a few years, inevitably be allied with the S. L. P. Their interest, in reality, lies with the working class; and it remains but to make them, as well as the rest of the workers, use it. When sound honesty is of more value than utter crookedness, this element, when directed by working class class-consciousness can be made more valuable to the revolutionary movement of the working class.

"Light! More Light!"

Clean - Wholesome - Socialist

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....	2,060
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1902.....	53,617

Socialist Vote in New Jersey.

West Hoboken, Feb. 21.—The official returns give the Socialist Labor Party vote in this State as 2,332, distributed as follows:

Essex County.....	813
Hudson County.....	973
Passaic County.....	334
Union County.....	102

Total.....2,332

The Daily People's list credits New Jersey with only 1,918 votes. It is entitled to 414 more.

PRESIDENT BAER ANTICIPATED BY ARISTOPHANES.

"Herbert Spencer in his last book says: 'Those who, joining a trade union, surrender their freedom to make engagements on their own terms, and allow themselves to be told by their leaders when to work and when not to work, have no adequate sense of that fundamental right which every man possesses to make the best of himself and to dispose of his abilities in any way he pleases.'—President Baer before the Arbitration Commission, Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1903.

More than two thousand years ago, Grecian wit gave birth to a genius, Aristophanes. He pulled away from the beaten path of teaching humanity through tragedies, and struck out on a new path. The foibles of man, the blunders of false reasoning, the peacock-brains absurdities of vainglory, these he exposed in a series of satires that have remained an inexhaustible source of instruction and mirth to the race. The mirror that he held up to the fools and pedants Aristophanes shaped into comedies. Foremost among these is "The Acharnians." The hero of the play is an Athenian rustic, Dicaeopolis. The war between Athens and Sparta had caused him much inconvenience, and not a little loss, until finally he was compelled to leave his home and farm, and take shelter in the city. He panted to return to his cabbages, and onions, and turnips. He panted for peace. But the Commonwealth was bent on war. At last he loses all patience. Dicaeopolis thereupon—in the words of Herbert Spencer, uttered over two thousand years later and approvingly echoed by President Baer—seizes that "fundamental right which every man possesses to make the best of himself" and decides to "dispose of his abilities in any way he pleased." How the thing is done and what it comes to transpires from the following passage in the play:

DICAEPOLIS.—"Where is Amphion got to?"

AMPHITHEUS.—"Here am I."

DICAEPOLIS.—"There—Take you these eight drachmas on my part,

"And make a separate peace for me with Sparta,

"For me, my wife, and children, and maid servant."

For more than two thousand years Dicaeopolis has come rolling down the Avenues of Time, a bundle of contradictions, an incarnation of absurdity. He holds property, a "creature of society"; and yet would he deny society. He profits by the privileges that flow alone from society,—"organization"; and yet would he escape the duties of organization. He entrenches himself behind the constraining safeguards of civilization, a "commonwealth"; and yet insists in the bird-freedom of individualism. He insists in breathing at once both the protecting air of social man and the free air of the savage; while retaining citizenship in Athens, yet would he be a city unto himself, free to conclude peace for "himself, his wife and children, and maid servant."

Only the savage surrenders no part of his freedom—and thereby he becomes

the abjectest of slaves, impotent before Nature and organized man.

Only the savage fatuously leans on the hollow reed of the "fundamental right of the individual" to dispose of his ability "in any way he pleases,"—and thereby he and his species become ready prey to the elements, and to organized man. The Gate to Freedom is the restraining one of organization, through which the individual frees himself of the shackles of individualism, and develops the superior capabilities of the species. The Trades Union, with its restriction of the individual's freedom "to dispose of his abilities in any way he pleases," is an organism that makes for civilization; the Trades Unionist, who strips himself of his individualist freedom "to dispose of his ability in any way he pleases," attests his development beyond the savage, beyond also the Dicaeopolis stage.

For more than two thousand years the human race—that portion that has civilization in its keeping—has been roaring at the figure of Dicaeopolis. And well it might. That indeed he was a type, worth embalming for all time, the "philosophers" and the "captains of industry" of Capitalism—the Spencers and the Baers—bear testimony in this generation.

THE MEDUSA-HEAD.

The Hon. William Randolph Hearst, a member elect to the Federal House of Representatives, and a candidate for nomination for President before the approaching national convention of the Democratic party, has come out with a five-planked platform on domestic concerns, on "internal policy", as he terms it. The five planks can be condensed into three. They are:

First—Public ownership of public franchises.

Second—A graduated income tax, and destruction of criminal Trusts.

Third—National, state and municipal improvement of the public school system.

This political delivery has thrown the so-called "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party press all into a flutter. It is bubbling over with adverse criticisms. Quoting from the ablest of these papers—the Milwaukee, Wis., "Social Democratic Herald"—the following are the leading objections.

Against the first plank:

"As President, Hearst could not help it, on it being a local matter."

—What! Are railroads, are mines, are telephone, electric and telegraph plants "local matters"! Are they not all-essential in national production and distribution? What, could a President, favoring a certain policy, "not help it on"?

Against the second plank:

"A graduated income tax calls the United States Supreme Court to mind. It has already declared the income tax unconstitutional."

—What! Is it imaginable that the tidal wave, that would carry into the White House a President committed to a certain policy, would split off on the Congressional candidates, and carry into the Capitol Congressmen committed to an adverse policy? Congress holds the Federal Courts in the hollow of its right hand. Woe to the Judge reckless enough to dare cross the will of the Legislative and Executive elect of the Nation. In less time than it takes to say it, he would be suspended and impeached, kicked down and out. What, afraid of the "capitalist Courts" with a President and Congress on one's side!

Against the third plank:

"The school system is being improved all the time. What possible good can Hearst do in this line that the people will not themselves do?"

—What! "The school system is being improved all the time," when increasingly large shoals of the working-man's children are kept out of school, partly for want of school room, partly for want of means on the parents' part! What, even if, indeed, improvement were "going on all the time", is the improvement imaginable except by means of organized political force, electing the proper magistrates? If "the people will do it all themselves", and no such organized political activity, abutting in the polls, is necessary in the improvement of the school system, why should there be organized political activity, abutting in the polls, with regard to anything else? Why any political parties, at all? Why not leave the class struggle to see to itself? Why nominate any candidate for President at all: "What possible good could he do in that line that the people

will not themselves do?"—What, Manchester School *redivivus*! What, Anarchy!

Obviously, the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party objections to the Hearst platform are, and in themselves, so many tubs without bottom. Now, look into the matter still closer. It will be positively edifying.

It is not Mr. Hearst alone who has been emitting political programs. So has the so-called "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party. And what has its language been? It has pronounced itself "anti-cataclysmic," in favor of "boring from within", firmly devoted to "local autonomy", unalterably opposed to "local quorum", fond of "gradual permeation till ultimate absorption", abhorrent of "auto da fe", aiming at "one thing at a time", stuck upon "labor sekretariat," consecrated to "temporary demands," etc., etc. Now, all this is very beautiful, and, we doubt not, very learned. But it sounds like a foreign tongue and is beyond the grasp of the common people; moreover, it has a wild-eyed look about it. Compare it with the Hearst deliverance, and what leaps to sight? Mr. Hearst has simply translated the "Socialist" alias "Social Democratic" lingo into plain English; he has curried-combed it; polished it; he has made it intelligible,—and above all, rational.

When the press of the so-called "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party now throws fits at the Hearst platform, the performance is but a repetition of the Medusa-head turning to stone at the sight of the mirror in which its own horrible features are reflected.

THE VENEZUELAN INCIDENT.

The blockade of Venezuelan ports is raised. Is that all there is of it? Indeed, not! What has happened is that the blockade has been turned on the blockaders, who now, in turn, are themselves blockaded.

About two months ago, when the Venezuelan trouble broke out, it was pointed out in these columns that the "trouble" was seemingly centered in and around Venezuela, whereas, in point of fact, the trouble raged many hundreds and thousands of miles away. The issue proves the correctness of the size-up then made; it also proves the correctness of the forecast that the aggressors would come out at the little end of the horn. The language of the press of the allies distinctly points to this conclusion. This is especially so in the instance of the German press. The "Allgemeine Zeitung" speaks of the situation as "tantamount to a victory of America over Europe"; the "Taegliche Nachtrichten" refers to the recent allies as being "in a sad plight"; the "Vossische Zeitung" is full of disappointment at "the discrepancy between the design and the achievement"; in short, they are all sore. And mighty good is their reason.

The assault on Venezuela was not a sporadic affair, no more than the breaking out of a pimple on any part of the body is a "local" matter. A pimple denotes a constitutional state of things. The body on which it breaks out has impure blood. The capitalist world is to-day an organism. It was "capitalist conditions" elsewhere that brought on foreign armaments before Venezuelan ports. What those capitalist impurities were could be guessed at; to-day guessing is no longer necessary. The delay in squeezing Venezuela, due to Venezuela's resistance, has caused certain leakages about the claims budget. The Oxford professor of international law notes a constitutional state of things. The body on which it breaks out has impure blood. The capitalist world is to-day an organism. It was "capitalist conditions" elsewhere that brought on foreign armaments before Venezuelan ports. What those capitalist impurities were could be guessed at; to-day guessing is no longer necessary. The delay in squeezing Venezuela, due to Venezuela's resistance, has caused certain leakages about the claims budget. The Oxford professor of international law

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those that are presented will be very thoroughly scrutinized. In other words, the claimants (former blockaders) are now themselves blockaded!

No doubt there is a tremendous "discrepancy between the design and the achievement." No wonder the crew is sore. The question comes, however, Where will the pimple just cauterized turn up next? What shape will it take? Turn up it must, it is the forerunner of the coming international financial and mercantile crisis.

THE MORAL LAW.

"The civil law does not pretend to take into account everything that is good and bad. The civil law does not treat of all the rights and duties and the obligations of men. If it does we had better nail up our church doors, and close our schoolhouses forever, and burn most of the books which have dealt with the questions of moral conduct. If a civil strife like this comes on, then those responsible for it must consider the moral law. . . . Mr. Mitchell recognized this law."—Counselor Darrow before the Arbitration Commission, Philadelphia, Feb. 13, 1903.

The conduct of the human race—taken as a whole—is dictated, not by what it WISHES, but by what it MUST. This great law of social evolution, if ignored, leads to visionariness, and, via visionariness to disaster; if recognized, it leads to intelligent, and, via intelligent action, to progress. By the light of that law, that which otherwise would seem a perplexing fact, ceases to be such; nay, it becomes luminous, so luminous as to be a torch to guide man's steps in the accomplishment of his mission on earth. The "civil law" is the work of man; "churches, schoolhouses and books" on moral conduct are likewise the work of man. Man, being the framer of both, for what reason does he fail to square the former to the principles of moral conduct that he himself lays down in the latter? For what reason is the civil law left so full of cracks? Is it done on purpose? No; man has no choice. He acts as he MUST, not as he WISHES. The moral aspirations of the race are perfect; its material powers are imperfect. What he does, accordingly, is a compromise between that which he wishes, and that which he can. This mighty *Trutu* once grasped points to two important conclusions:

First—The course of moral conduct on earth is to improve, and ever strain to improve, the material powers at man's disposal so as to fashion them into fit instruments as may be for the satisfaction of his perfect moral aspirations; Second—and this is an inevitable conclusion of the first) That individual conduct is IMMORAL that, while straining to keep the material instruments down in a state of imperfection, clamors for perfect moral aspirations. Shipwrecked men, tossed on a raft in midocean, will triumphantly shattered, spoke ill for that gentry. It was one of the labels they bore, and most of them bear yet, denoting their turpitude. The new paper, judging from several passages, denotes a healthy reaction—manhoodward. The new paper hints that the "peasant" concern keeps information from the party; it shrewdly surmises that the "monopoly" may sometimes aim to achieve its own ends—"Good! That's encouraging!"

The Socialist Labor Party cares not how off the track a foe within the Labor Movement may be; it cares not how violent in discussion his ignorance may render him. The S. L. P. cares naught for that. What the S. L. P. cares for is the character of the foe. Rotten cloth is hopeless. In a manly adversary there is always hope. The newcomer, by pulling its neck from the yoke of the Volkszeitung Corporation gives token of many fibre.

As such, it is welcomed heartily into the arena.

The prospectus of a Canadian wheat raising company has been received from a Canadian comrade. The company is capitalized at \$1,000,000. It will operate 40,000 acres of wheat lands in Assiniboia, Canada, bought from their present owners with all the necessary buildings, steam plows, etc. The latest mechanical improvements are to be added. The company has an option on 10,000 acres in another portion of the same country. It is estimated that the average yield will be thirty-five bushels per acre. This is produced at an average of \$5 per acre, while selling for an average of \$35, leaving a profit of \$30,000. The farms of the company will be conducted by an organized staff, headed by a general manager and a retinue of clerks. Dividends are estimated at 15 per cent. annually. It is pointed out that the company has many advantages over many industrial enterprises in that while its "earnings" from its wheat products are constantly growing, the land of the company is continually enhancing in value, "creating a double source of values." This prospectus illustrates the growth of capitalist agriculture in the Dominion. It is the growth of agriculture in this country over again. It shows the same tendency to concentration as here, and the same results that are inducing capitalists of this country to take to corporate farming. In both countries the knell of the small farmer is sounded.

The civil law, in force at any time, is but a reflex of man's ascertained material powers to reach his moral aspiration,—of his ascertained powers at the time of the framing of such law. The existing civil law is a reflex of material powers that dictated CAPITALISM. Capitalism places in private hands—the hands of the Capitalist Class—the tools needed to supply the needs of man. The social conditions that flow from these premises sentence an ever larger portion of the population, the Working Class, to the level of merchandise; and this, in turn, amounts to a sentence of ever deepening dependence and misery upon the workingman. Are, to-day, the material powers at man's disposal the weak powers that once forced him to adopt Capitalism? They are not. Indeed, in the fiery furnace of capitalism did he forge the superior instruments wherewith to enable him to reach nearer to his moral aspirations. The phenomenal volume of wealth now producible makes possible the freeing of man from the brute state of arduous toil for the necessities of life. Accordingly, the material capability of man has come up to his moral aspirations. What he now wishes, he also can. No compromise is now needed.

At such stages in the history of the race, human forces divide. One set, holds to what; the other set pushes on to what is not yet. The Capitalist Class, true to its class interests is conservative. The class conscious Working Class pushes toward a more modern "system of civil law,"—towards Socialism. In this conflict of irreconcilable interests, in this "Irrepressible Conflict" of our generation, where stands John Mitchell?

Does he stand with both feet by President Baer? If he did, then sentence might be passed upon him for simple im-

WHO'S TO BLAME

During the past few weeks there has arisen, principally in New York State, an agitation in favor of child labor laws that possesses some noteworthy features. Foremost among them is the attempt to fasten the responsibility for the existence of child labor on the intemperance and inhumanity of parents, who, it is claimed, swear falsely to their children's age, in order that they may thereby secure the miserable pitiful child labor receives.

This feature is in direct contradistinction to the foremost feature of the child labor agitations in the South, in New Jersey, and in other States last year. In those agitations, the cause of child labor and child labor violations were plainly traced to the workings of the capitalist system, the capitalist upholders of which fought proposed enactments and defied prosecution on the ground that child labor was essential to the profitable development of their States and industries. This stand earned for the capitalists in question popular condemnation and execration. That these were bad people, but the speaker on that occasion made a very nice speech, a speech that no one could take offence at. To be sure, he criticized present conditions somewhat, but what political speaker does not.

UNCLE SAM.—That must have been a queer Socialist that could make a speech that would offend nobody.

B. J.—Well, that fellow did. He made a nice speech.

U. S.—Let me tell you something,

Fatty, that you don't seem to know about Socialism and Socialists:

"When a Socialist speaker gets up before an audience to make a speech it is his business to offend some people; and you can take this as a criterion, if he makes a speech that will offend no one, he is not a Socialist, he is a fraud. In this world, nature made the land and never gave any individual title to a foot of it. Birth into this world is nature's patent to the use of the world's natural resources. The working class alone has produced the machinery of production needed to exploit the world's natural resources, and the working class alone uses that machinery upon the natural resources of the earth for the production of the wealth upon which the inhabitants of the world live.

Machinery also adds to the army of unemployed. Now, it is a peculiarity of machinery under capitalism, that it decreases exchange value, while dispensing with the muscular strength and skill of men, thereby permitting of the employment of the more supple women and children. Competition is increased; and the hiring of child labor at low wages becomes not only necessary, but possible. Without machinery the employment of child labor would become unprofitable.

Here, then, is further evidence supporting the view that the attempt to shift the responsibility for child labor is but an attempt to hide the real culprit: the capitalist class. Capitalist conditions, created and maintained by the capitalist class, cause and promote child labor.

In the above facts, we also have the evidence to enforce the oft-made Socialist contention that child labor will not be advanced so long as capitalism prevails. On the contrary, as the present day reaction in some circles against it proves, it increases as capitalism increases. And its growth will be greater as the growth of easily-guided machinery grows.

U. S. GRANT AND KANGAROOSM.

The below, a historic parallel from Wm. McCormick, of Ballard, Wash., is here given the right of way:

I bought a book. If it had been "Sapho" or even "A Yellow Aster" it would cost ten cents, with the privilege of returning it for five.

But it was "Life of General U. S. Grant," so I got it for five cents if I would take it away and keep it away.

What a cutting commentary on capitalist gratitude and education!

I find that this capitalist biography of one of its exploited heroes makes mighty fine Socialist reading.

The boy, Hiram U. Grant, who did not have the least "business tact" in a horse trade, but could load a sled with logs that required four men to handle rather than drive home without a load, is a stunning rebuttal of the old "You must change human nature" gag.

The discontent with idle army life, which drove him to drink and caused him to resign, is a splendid example of "Human Nature" resisting degradation.

Then he went "Farming" (?) with four negro slaves to help him, and showed his appreciation of the "Real thing" by naming his ranch "Hardscrabble."

Then he gave Labor Fakir John Mitchell's "Six Hundred Dollars a Year" a thorough test at Galena, where:

"While Grant was self-denying, had no expensive habits, had not touched liquor in several years, yet even he rebelled against that frugality necessary to make ends meet. His brother increased his salary to the rate of eight hundred dollars a year, but even this did not enable him to live and he slowly drifted into debt."

Good three cheers for Grant!

Now, come up against him with: "If the working men would only save their money."

"April, 1861—the twelfth of April. Hark! The thunder of cannon! It rolls on and on until its echo reaches every hamlet, and cheeks burn and eyes flash, a sigh of relief escapes. All doubt is at rest. The die is cast. Now for the struggle."

Yes, Capitalism had to have a struggle, in its domains, between chattel-slavery and wage-slavery which brought all the latent disorder, stupidity, selfishness and hellishness of its, nature to the surface on both sides.

"Circumstances" compelled the governor of Illinois to call "somewhat coldly upon the man from 'Hardscrabble,' who could not sell leather or 'make ends meet' on eight hundred dollars a year, "for assistance in bringing order out of the resultant chaos."

"Order" (?) was soon restored, Grant's value recognized, the governor his friend."

They had found a man who could make the "Farrers drill."

He was given the command of a regiment of "Farmers' Sons" (whose fathers were recent escapees from Feudalism) many of them barefooted and each wearing what was perhaps (good word) his poorest clothes, counting possibly on Uncle Sam supplying new suits, "who took him for a 'bum' because his citizen's hat and coat were 'battered' and worn out at the elbows."

The "Rubes" were looking for a "swell" to boss them—a trait that had been impressed on their "human nature" by thousands of years of Feudalism and class rule.

Grant "changed" their "human nature" by cutting off their rations for a day, because they were an hour late with roll call, sufficient to make them respect him as "A man who knew his business," and thereby settled forever that other old gag: "What will you do with the man that won't work?"

It is not to our purpose to "hero worship" or eulogize "General Grant," but to find from capitalist information, what made the man from "Hardscrabble" valuable to Capitalism which had to get rid of Chattel-slavery at any cost. In that sense Grant was the cheapest man that Capitalism ever hired.

He was a born engineer, master of dynamic force and power, who got a chance by the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dum instead of as a human right, to get an education, at West Point, which he took seriously and simply meant, to him, that two and two are four, but it meant that emphatically, and there was no other way about it. He always knew what he was "up against" and he never stultified his common sense in dealing with it. And it is mighty poor Socialism that would take any part in the sentimental rot about his "Sacrificing Men to Win Battles."

The "Rubes" volunteered to fight battles for Capitalism and Grant made them do it.

It was his duty to win battles; not to count the cost. With him there was only one way to win war, and that was to fight. Now let us get down to the parallel between the Capitalist fight against Chattel-slavery and the Socialist fight against Capitalism; between Grant, the tactical leader of "abolition," and the "tactical leaders" of the Socialist Labor Party.

The "abolition movement" meant nothing but talk, until the men who were to move him again, even a Julian Pierce knocked a big hole in his work (Col. Murphy at Holly Springs, who made a most cowardly surrender, for a man under the orders of such a commander as Grant), and they would have succeeded in having him removed if Lincoln was just getting cured of being a "Freak" himself, had not concluded to stand by the man who "won us nearly all our victories" until he captured Vicksburg, after which the stories about his "swilling whiskey" lost their force, and the success of the Union arms were assured by being put in charge of a man whose tactics were aggressive on principle.

If they had succeeded in pulling Grant down before Vicksburg; in destroying the kind of tactics that he stood for, Kangaroosm would have prevailed in the Union army, which would have never gone through "the Wilderness;"

clerical skates, would-be editors, and book-selling parasites took it up as a vocation, which was of more importance to them than the welfare of the working class.

So we see that after Grant's common sense policy had been uniformly successful up to taking Fort Donelson, the first real Union victory, Halleck, his commanding officer, tries to "shovel him" by ordering: "Don't bring on a general engagement. If the enemy appears in numbers our troops must fall back." When he tries to follow up his success with further victories:

"Aware that Beauregard was strongly fortifying Corinth, Grant was eager to attack him while they were still weak, he urged this course upon Halleck, but the only satisfaction he got was: 'Remain where you are until you are fortified and get reinforcements!'" That knocks the S. L. P. claims to the discovery of the "Kangaroo," in 1890, into a cocked hat, as the following will show:

"Smith, being made acquainted with Halleck's orders, vehemently exclaimed:

"By—. I want nothing better than to have the infernal gray coats come out and have a go at us. We can whip them all to—. Our men suppose we have come here to fight, and if we go to digging they will think we are afraid of the rascals. No burrowing in the ground for me."

That was the stuff that abolished chattel-slavery when it came to a show down, and it was the only thing that could do it.

"Burrowing in the ground" in 1862 was the same as "boring from within" in 1890.

When President Lincoln called for thirty-five thousand troops for three months W. T. Sherman said, "You might as well try to put out the flames of a burning house with a squirt gun. It will take the whole military power of the North and it will be desperate the struggle, even then." His usefulness, to the North, was based on this bit of common sense, for which the "freaks" said he was "Mad as a March hare." He could see what had to be done and was honest with himself about it.

The whole military power of the North, in 1861, was the same as the "Solidarity of working class in 1890."

Grant's tactics were all offensive—to whip the enemy, not to keep the enemy from whipping him. But submission to the Kangaroo's orders got him on the defensive at Shiloh against Beauregard, who put up the hottest fight the South made during the whole war.

Grant finally got his offensive tactics into working order and changed Beauregard's promising chance of victory into a good whipping.

Then the "Freaks" howled about the "great slaughter" (?) which occurred, in the first place, because Grant was compelled to submit to Kangaroo tactics instead of using his own, and in the second place, because two generals with offensive tactics came together over something that each considered to be of the utmost importance to his side.

But the reasoning of the malicious "Freak" is enough to make common sense dizzy. They charged Grant with the "slaughter" (?), and at the same time with being so "drunk" that he was not there.

Grant's being "drunk" in 1862 was the same as De Leon's "abusing people" in 1890.

Now let us see how the Kangaroo does things.

On the 9th of April, Halleck reached the scene and immediately assumed command in person and "shelved" Grant from active duty entirely, by making him "second in command," like a vice-chairman, where he could say or do nothing until Halleck died, which he was not likely to do while there was a chance to "burrow in the ground;" gathered an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men against Beauregard's forty thousand and "consumed six precious weeks in advancing fifteen miles within sight of fortifications that were found empty and guarded with Quaker guns."

Then instead of marching his one hundred and twenty thousand men to the "sea" he broke them into petty commands for garrison duty, where there was no fighting.

Phil. Sheridan got from under Halleck's thumb long enough to whip five thousand Southern cavalry with two thousand horsemen.

Then the Kangaroos took their tactic to Washington, where he went, after adding insult to injury, and gave common sense tactics, in the West, a chance to begin all over again. Kangaroo tactics caused the great slaughter of men in the "Civil War" the same as they cost the Socialist Labor Party its "millions of votes" in 1900.

Kangaroosm did all it could to handicap Grant, when he got a chance to move himself again, even a Julian Pierce knocked a big hole in his work (Col. Murphy at Holly Springs, who made a most cowardly surrender, for a man under the orders of such a commander as Grant), and they would have succeeded in having him removed if Lincoln was just getting cured of being a "Freak" himself, had not concluded to stand by the man who "won us nearly all our victories" until he captured Vicksburg, after which the stories about his "swilling whiskey" lost their force, and the success of the Union arms were assured by being put in charge of a man whose tactics were aggressive on principle.

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The boy, Hiram U. Grant, who did not have the least "business tact" in a horse trade, but could load a sled with logs that required four men to handle rather than drive home without a load, is a stunning rebuttal of the old "You must change human nature" gag.

The "Socialist movement" meant nothing but talk, until the men with common sense in the Socialist Labor Party put it on the lines of the class struggle, in 1890, then it took definite shape, and the freaks, grafters, crooks,

Northern reaction would have elected McClellan (who resigned from the army like our "good" Sanial) in 1864; Lee would have taken Washington; then France and England would have recognized the Confederate States of America, and, what is of most importance to the working class, Capitalist centralization would have been delayed. All of which was avoided by Grant's common sense idea of war—whip the enemy before he whips you. And so it is with the Socialist Labor Party, which bases its only hope on the self-interest of the working class, solidified on the line of the class struggle. We must "fight it out on that line if it takes all" this century.

Going on the line of the class struggle in 1890 was our Belmont,—our determination to have the working class "cut their own way out."

We stopped "boring from within" in 1890, which was our "Fort Henry." Our determination to mind our own business, which is to smash everything that is against the interest of the working class, solidified on the line of the class struggle. We must "fight it out on that line if it takes all" this century.

The affair does not need much perspective. The few months that have gone by have been quite enough to bring out all the details. The first thing that strikes us on looking back is the lack of proportion between our own rage and excitement and the petty cause thereof. For myself I confess to many and bitter tears of anger and despair. And for what? For nothing at all, except, indeed, one of the necessary phases of party progress. The little episode is only interesting as a peculiar part of our moneymen's growth.

In this, as in the former Kangaroo struggle, four distinct elements may be discerned. First: The unmistakable middle-class Socialists who were lost in the proletarian movement and had not the sense and honesty to inquire their way out. Second: The worn-out comrades, men who had been useful in the past but were unable to advance with the times, and who had not the strength and courage to hold up the ever-growing burden and enter the ever-narrowing road. Third: The dishonest or fakir crowd who had entered the party to serve their little ends. Lastly: A group of muddled workingmen who were seized with a blind desire to set matters straight somewhere and see justice (?) done at once and in all directions. Of the first three classes nothing need be said; of the last let me remark that men who strike blindly at their center in time of stress are not fit for a revolutionary movement.

Once we can run up a banner bearing the inscription: "The Daily People is Out of Debt," Kangaroosm will wilt. Its stories about De Leon's "abusing power" won't have force enough to affect a job-hunting parson, and The Worker will never write about the "Difference" again.

It will leave that to us—the people who knew how.

Now we know that it can be done, but that is not what we want to be telling people, we want to tell them that it has been done.

So now, comrades, of the State Committee,

Stir up that four hundred and twenty-five dollars proposition. Just a little more fighting along that line, if you please.

Daily People Auxiliary League, you have held on to your lines very nicely. Now rally your old membership to new efforts, get more recruits, and do this year what they could not do last year.

A little more fighting, please.

Then what has become of that brigade that was giving one day's wages to The Daily People? Let us see if we cannot rally them once more. Here is my day's wages—two dollars. Workingmen, this is your fight. If you have more at stake than the men at Vicksburg had for laying down their lives. So make up your mind, right now, to put in one day this year, and as soon as possible, for decreasing that debt on The Daily People. Let everybody join this brigade, no matter how much you have done besides. Go in. There is good fighting all along this line.

Then there are 52,895 votes for the S. L. P., and I did not get a chance to vote in all, so we will call it 53,000 to make up for those like me.

Every S. L. P. vote is a man's vote, and it's a mighty poor man that cannot back his vote with a dollar. So let every S. L. P. voter pay his poll tax before the first of July.

The Daily People's third birthday.

So that we can nail to her masthead: "This paper was established by working men, paid for by workingmen, is run by workingmen, for workingmen." Here is my dollar to start this brigade; it is able to pay that debt four times; plenty of good fighting along this line.

Then we will go on to our Chattanooga, where we will take the "Lookout Mountain" of Kangaroosm—silence their slimy papers, would-be editors, book-selling parasites, shyster lawyers, and job-hunting parsons—and plant The Daily People on the "Missionary Ridge" of "Yellow Journalism," where we will

prove ourselves in the stress of the next few years. Fraternally,

Jane A. Roulston.

San Francisco, Feb. 7, 1903.

Pure and Simplem in Washington.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—At this place, Haddock, Wash., there is a longshoremen's "union" whose object is to keep up "union" wages and incidentally to "noblly wage the class struggle." Recently fifteen of these dupes of Capitalism met, not on the real battlefield, urging their fellow-workers to become class-conscious and abolish wage-slavery, but at the Commercial Hotel, and, in a drunken quarrel, brutally assaulted a Socialist, silly enough to do the job, to pull the hot chestnuts out of the fire for them? The French radical bourgeois shows them why such a "union" was important.

These deluded longshoremen imagined that by killing the person who was showing them the error of their ways they would wipe out Socialism in the whole country.

We will get that as soon as the working class catch on to the fact that we are "here to fight;" to make them catch on we must reach them, to reach them we must have an incorruptible press and literature bureau; to have that we must control a plant to print it, and we cannot control anything that we do not own absolutely, and we do not own anything that is in debt. Well then the thing to do is to get that debt paid, so let us go at it, hammer and tongs, and wipe it out before the first of July. It can be done, so be sure that you are one of those that have the honor of helping to do it.

The Revolution will live; make a man of yourself by helping to lighten its burden.

If the blood and thunder speeches of Tillman, Bigelow, Wise and Grosscup are good indications, troublous times are in store for this country. With race, class and international wars on its hands, the capitalist class will be compelled to face some difficult problems. The attempt to solve them within the limits of capitalism will destroy the capitalist class. Nothing but a revolution—a step upwards to Socialism—will do.

R. Macdonald.

Haddock, Wash., Feb. 8.

Those wage-slaves voted for capitalism last election, thus selling their birthright to the capitalist-politician for a hand-shake, a smile, a cigar and a glass of beer, for two years. Capitalism will soon butt them so hard that they will have to give it a kick.

At the sawmill here the workers seem to understand their position better. The X-rays of scientific Socialism are being turned on them and I hope it will result in subscriptions for The People.

R. Macdonald.

A. S., NEW YORK.—There can be no

OFFICIAL.**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Colborne street, London, Ontario.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—2-6 New Reade street. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that there are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p.m.

CANADIAN S. L. P.

London, Feb. 26.—The regular meeting of the N. E. C. was held at headquarters on this date with Comrade Nuttall chairman and Comrade Bryce absent and excused.

When the minutes of the previous session had been confirmed the following communications were read and dealt with: From Comrade James Connally, of Dublin, Ireland, acknowledging payment for the expenses incurred by him while lecturing in Canada; filed. From Section Toronto, stating the election of another organizer; also asking for information regarding the party generally. From Comrade Hucker, of Sarnia, Ont., bearing on the possibility of forming a section there, also requesting the N. E. C. to procure his card from Section London and send same to him. From Section Vancouver, B. C., relative to propaganda work, etc.; as the secretary had replied to this communication it was ordered filed. He was instructed to reply to Section Toronto, giving, as far as possible at present, the information desired; also to inquire regarding their municipal elections for 1903; also to see the financial secretary of Section London and comply with Comrade Hucker's request. Phil. Courtenay, rec. secretary.

Massachusetts State Executive.

Special meeting of the Mass. S. E. C. held on Friday, February 13, 1903, with John R. Oldham in the chair. All delegates present.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted. Communications from Marlboro, Lowell, New Bedford and Boston, asking information, reporting local conditions, referring to conference, forwarding dues, etc., accepted for files.

Bill of \$1.14 for supplies for secretary ordered paid.

Auditing committee reported on books of Section Medford. Accepted.

Agitation committee reported having secured John R. Oldham of Lynn for "Commencement" of Section Law.

Committee elected to draw up recommendations for State conference submitted list of recommendations, which were laid over for new business.

Report of committee to draw up tour for Comrade De Leon was accepted.

Secretary reported name of John Youngman for member-at-large, and was instructed to send him application blank.

Secretary reported the name of Preston Parker for membership and was instructed to notify Parker to join Section Malden and inform Section Malden of that effect.

Comrade Young, of the organizer fund committee, reported that Max Bowen had paid \$1 to the organizer fund and did not receive acknowledgment in The People for the same. Comrade Stevens, of the same committee, stated he submitted list and was not aware that Comrade Young had received that money and therefore did not mention it in his report to the S. E. C.

Theodore Hellberg, Edgar E. Chester and W. H. Young were duly nominated and elected grievance committee by acclamation.

Recommendations to be submitted to the State conference were taken up.

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It was voted to recommend that Socialist Labor Party take definite steps to build up contributors to the press of different towns and cities and to keep our official organ informed on all matters of importance.

It was voted to recommend that the party pay more attention to members' wages and their work of agitation.

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Detroit Commune Celebration.

Section Detroit, Mich., Socialist Labor Party, and Socialist Arbeiter Parteiche will hold a Commune celebration and ball at Colombo Hall, No. 225 Gratiot avenue, Saturday evening, March 14, at 8 p.m. sharp, for the benefit of "The Wage-Worker." Good English and German speakers will be present. Admission will be 25 cents.

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